

come together, Republicans and Democrats, because everybody loves their children. Everybody loves their grandchildren. We have all these young pages here. We have an example every day of young people who want to get ahead, who are willing to work. They just want the opportunity.

I think, if I could hope that anything might happen, it probably will not happen today, but this year or next year—I felt strongly about the balanced budget, but not enough people did. But that will be around.

So I would close with, again, thanking all of my colleagues. I do not believe—I am just trying to think back—I do not believe we have ever had any real disagreements. I remember one time, I remind the Democratic leader, that I offered an amendment that you thought you were going to offer, and I made a mistake. I was not trying to one-up the Senator from South Dakota. So I withdraw my amendment. Then he offered the amendment. I think that is called civility.

So, I would close with the words of my hero, Dwight Eisenhower, because he was our supreme commander. He also came from Abilene, KS; born in Texas but quickly moved to Kansas. He was only 2 years old. It took a while. But, in any event—this is his quote.

As we peer into society's future, we—you and I—and our Government—must avoid the impulse to live only for today, plundering, for our own ease and convenience, the precious resources of tomorrow.

We cannot mortgage the material assets of our grandchildren without risking the loss of their political and spiritual heritage. We want democracy to survive for all generations to come, not to become the insolvent phantom of tomorrow.

I think those words are just as good today as they were 35 years ago when President Eisenhower spoke them. We can lead or we can mislead as the people's Representatives, but whatever we do, we will be held responsible. We are going to be held responsible and accountable. I am not talking about 1996. I am talking about any time over the next century.

So the Bible tells us that to everything there is a season, and I think my season in the Senate is about to come to an end. But the new season makes this moment far less the closing of one chapter than the opening of another. We all take pride in the past, but we all live for the future.

I agree with prairie poet Carl Sandburg, who told us:

Yesterday is wind gone down,  
a sun dropped in the West.  
I tell you that there is nothing in the world,  
Only an ocean of tomorrows,  
A sky of tomorrows.

Like everybody here, I am an optimist. I believe our best tomorrows are yet to be lived. So I, again, thank you.

God bless America, and God bless the U.S. Senate.

[Applause, Senators rising.]

## RECESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate now stands in recess until 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, at 12:51 p.m., the Senate recessed until 2:14 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer [Mr. BROWN].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana is recognized.

Mr. BREAUX. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER [Mr. COATS]. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LOTT. I believe, Mr. President, momentarily we will have the introduction and swearing in of the new Senator from Kansas.

For a moment, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## SENATOR FROM KANSAS— CREDENTIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the credentials of SHEILA FRAHM, appointed a Senator by the Governor of the State of Kansas on June 11, 1996, to represent such State in the Senate of the United States until the vacancy of the term ending January 3, 1999, caused by the resignation of the Honorable ROBERT J. DOLE, is filled by election as provided by law.

Without objection, it will be considered read.

The Certificate of Appointment is as follows:

State of Kansas, Office of the Governor

### CERTIFICATE OF APPOINTMENT

To the President of the Senate of the United States:

This is to certify that, pursuant to the power vested in me by the Constitution of the United States and the laws of the State of Kansas, I, Bill Graves, the Governor of Kansas, do hereby appoint Sheila Frahm a Senator from Kansas to represent Kansas in the Senate of the United States until the vacancy therein, caused by the resignation of Bob Dole, is filled by election as provided by law.

Witness: His excellency our Governor Bill Graves, and our seal hereto affixed at Topeka, Kansas, this 11th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1996.

By the Governor:

BILL GRAVES,  
Governor.

RON THORNBURGH,

## CEREMONY OF ADMINISTRATION OF OATH OF OFFICE TO SHEILA FRAHM AS SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF KANSAS

The VICE PRESIDENT. The new Senator will now present herself at the desk for the administration of the oath of office.

Mrs. FRAHM, escorted by Mr. DOLE and Mrs. KASSEBAUM, advanced to the desk of the Vice President; the oath prescribed by law was administered to her by the Vice President; and she subscribed to the oath in the Official Oath Book.

[Applause, Senators rising.]

(Mrs. HUTCHISON assumed the chair.)

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period for the transaction of morning business with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 5 minutes each until the hour of 3:30 p.m.

Mr. EXON. Reserving the right to object, and I do not intend to object. Is it the Senator's intention that we would go to the budget then at 3:30? Is that the plan?

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, if I can respond to the distinguished Senator from Nebraska, it is our hope that the Senate could consume much of the 10 hours allocated to the budget conference report this afternoon. That is provided, of course, under the statute. We would be able to set the final vote on the conference report for midafternoon on Wednesday, in all probability. Certainly, we are now consulting with the Democratic leader, and he is making sure that that is agreeable.

We hope to have a unanimous-consent request on that in, hopefully, a few minutes. Between now and 3:30, since a number of Senators did not have an opportunity to speak this morning in tribute to Senator DOLE, we hope that can be done in this hour. Then we hope to begin on the budget resolution.

Mr. EXON. I have no objection whatsoever. This Senator was one of those, also, who wishes to speak. I will be seeking 5 minutes of my own time for that subject during the next hour.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## TRIBUTE TO SENATOR BOB DOLE

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, there is no question that some of the most eloquent speeches I have heard since I have been in the Senate were presented this morning by Senators on both sides of the aisle as a tribute to our good friend and majority leader, BOB DOLE. They really were very impressive in terms of the relationship that Senators have had with Senator DOLE and their love for him and for this institution. Many Senators have enjoyed working with Senator DOLE and have learned a great deal from him. Certainly, I am one of those that has been studying at the feet of BOB DOLE. It has been something to behold. He is truly a master of how to get things done. We can all learn from that. I hope that I am one that has learned and will remember those lessons.

I served in the House for a number of years after having worked for a Democratic Congressman named Bill Colmer, the chairman of the Rules Committee. Until this very day, when I remember the lessons I should have learned from that old gentleman, I do well. When I forget those lessons, I usually get in trouble. So I think that as we go through life and as we go through political life, as we work in Government, and as we go through our daily activities in the Senate, there are certain giants like BOB DOLE that we can and should all learn from.

Madam President, there is a little known custom, I guess, in the Senate for Members to carve their names in the drawers of their desks. In fact, when constituents come on the floor when we are not in session, that is one of the things they find most interesting. They pull the drawers out and see who signed these desks.

When you look into some of these desks, you find the great—and sometimes not so great—names of the past. They are a veritable rollcall of our country's history.

In 28 years in the Senate, BOB DOLE did more than make his mark upon a congressional desk. He made his mark upon this institution, not just its legislation, but more importantly, its character.

He devoted most of his career to the Senate, but not because this Chamber and its business were an end in itself. For BOB DOLE, serving the Senate was serving his country.

That service took precedence over most other considerations in his life.

Indeed, it took precedence over his Presidential campaign—until today.

The reason BOB DOLE will not be with us on the Senate floor after today is no great secret.

The reason is that he was convinced he would better serve his country by restoring leadership to its Presidency than by handling the day to day affairs of the Congress.

We all know it was hard for him to leave, and it was hard for us to see him leave. It affected us all, and it reminded us once again who we are and

what we are about in this institution. Those who really know BOB DOLE know that he is leaving not out of ambition for higher rank, but out of determination to finish the fight and be in a position to do all that he can do for his country.

That fight, in terms of his country's future, is every bit as important as the fight which gravely injured the young BOB DOLE in 1944.

There are some who think of duty as a burden, heavy to bear and best shrugged off onto someone else.

There are others who embrace duty, and carry it proudly, and do not put it down until the journey is done.

In walking out of this Chamber today, BOB DOLE carries with him a lifetime of duty.

As we saw him exit this door, we all felt an emotional surge, and every Member of this Senate knows he will not put that responsibility and duty down.

No one would understand better than BOB that not every Senator wants him to succeed in his present mission. Indeed, a goodly part of this body will move Heaven and Earth to prevent that success.

That is not perfidy. It is democracy.

It is something BOB DOLE went to war to defend, and something he still can appreciate more than most of us.

But I dare say, despite the political and partisan divisions on this Senate floor, as we quite often experience, all of us understand something historic is happening here today.

Something none of us will soon forget.

It brings to my mind two other reluctant departures in our Nation's past.

The first would be Washington's reluctant leaving of Mount Vernon to assume a position he did not seek, but which his countrymen insisted he take.

The second would be Lee's agonized departure from his post of military honor to fulfill what he considered a higher duty.

Were he here, BOB DOLE would modestly dismiss any comparison with Washington or Lee—or any other of American's great statesmen of the past.

He would rather let the future judge such things, and so should we.

Whatever the outcome of this year, whatever the course of its conflicts and controversies, the future holds a place for BOB DOLE as a giant of the Senate, a man set apart from most by a quiet passion for his country that we are only now beginning to understand.

But Lord willing, we will benefit from it for years to come.

I yield the floor, Mr. President.

Mr. EXON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COATS). The Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, I thank the Chair. I wish to associate myself with the remarks by the distinguished Senator from Mississippi.

I just want to say a few words about my friend BOB DOLE. I suspect my feel-

ings are not significantly different by what has been thought and what has been said by my colleagues on both sides of the aisle. So aside from the BOB DOLE that we all know so very, very well, I just want to say that I was pleased to be here and to hear that excellent speech that Senator DOLE gave as his farewell address in the U.S. Senate. It was sad in lots of ways, and yet it was so reassuring to see someone of the integrity, the ability, the character, and the good nature of BOB DOLE spelled out in that speech so very, very well. I hope that many, many people in the United States heard that speech by my friend and colleague, the man from Kansas.

I have worked with him so very, very long on so many issues. Many times we have been on the same side, but on many of the items we have been on opposite sides. But never, as Senator DOLE mentioned in his speech this morning, has he ever, to my knowledge, violated that cardinal rule of the U.S. Senate—unwritten, which is just as effective: A man's word or a woman's word is their bond. In all of these nearly 18 years that I have had the pleasure of my association with BOB DOLE, I have never known Bob even to give a hint of breaking his word, because if there was ever a man in the U.S. Senate for whom we all know his word is his bond, that is BOB DOLE.

On a personal note, I just want to say when I saw Bob walk out after his address, it took me back to times in all of our lives when there have been breakups. I suppose the first was when we graduated from grade school and that old gang of ours broke up and went on through our educational process. And certainly it is true. When you left the service of the United States of America, that old gang was broken up. That old gang that BOB DOLE was with was suddenly broken up when he nearly gave his life in combat, in defense of the national security interests of the United States of America and the free world. But I thought of that breakup when I saw BOB walk out that door an hour or so ago.

BOB DOLE meant so much to me because, despite our differences from time to time, we always had an excellent personal working relationship. He came into Nebraska on two or three occasions to support my opponent in one of my races. But never did BOB DOLE say anything bad about JIM EXON, even though he could have probably found some legitimate things that he could and maybe should have said. But that was not BOB's way. BOB came into Nebraska, and he campaigned for my Republican opponent—not against JIM EXON. I think that is the mark of not only a great statesman but a very effective leader, which he was of his party as majority leader on that side, but also someone that you could be truly proud of and call your friend.

Little known outside the Senate, I suspect, was BOB's strongest characteristic, and that was his sense of

humor. I am not sure that the public at large has understood that. But I have had an ongoing relationship—very friendly—with BOB DOLE on many, many occasions. In fact, this year when he was running for President of the United States, I suggested to him—and he knew it was facetious—that I might consider a draft to be his Vice Presidential running mate, if he was interested in that. BOB knows that I am a Democrat—always have been and always will be, and we had lots of jokes about that. But over the years of friendship, over the years of serving on very tough issues, sometimes we were maybe at sword's point, one would think, when we were debating a measure of some importance on the floor of the U.S. Senate. BOB DOLE never lost his sense of humor. He never forgot his sense of humor. And I think that is what helped carry him through probably that life-threatening wound that he received in battle and probably through some of the more heated debates that have taken place here on the Senate floor. I have never seen BOB DOLE do anything but smile when someone said something or told him something that he thought was humor.

So I am saddened by the fact that a coworker for whom I have great respect, has made a choice that I think was the right choice for him to make, especially with regard to the heavy responsibility that he carries for his party, and he will carry in the Presidential election this year. In that regard, maybe I can sum up my feelings, friendship, and understanding with BOB DOLE by a statement that I made to him in one of our more humorous conversations maybe 6 months ago right in the heat of those very tough Republican primaries for President of the United States. I said to BOB DOLE, "You know, BOB, if we have to have a Republican President"—then I repeated it—"if we have to have a Republican President, I hope it is you." People that do not understand humor might think that was a cutting thing for JIM EXON to say, but BOB DOLE knew what I was saying. BOB DOLE knows that myself and all, likely, on both sides of the aisle respect not only the man's talent but the man's sense of responsibility and his sense of humor which has endeared him to those of us on both sides of the aisle.

Godspeed, BOB DOLE, to you and your wonderful wife, Elizabeth. You are a great couple. And whatever the future holds, we will always hold you in high esteem.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

Mr. HATCH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

#### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR BOB DOLE

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I thank my colleague from Nebraska for his kind remarks about our friend BOB DOLE, which were very eloquent. I think he expressed it beautifully for a

lot of Democrats. I think everyone in this body has tremendous esteem and affection and love for BOB DOLE. He is one of the all-time great Senators. There is no question about it. He will go down in history as one of the all-time great Senators.

Mr. President, 20 years ago, when I was first sworn in as the junior Senator from Utah, BOB DOLE was among the first of my Republican colleagues to come up and put his arm around me, and helped guide me and helped me to learn the ropes.

I rise today to thank him for that, and for his extraordinary leadership in the years since. When the citizens from Kansas elected BOB DOLE as their Senator, they chose a man who epitomizes the qualities of mainstream America, a team player, a war hero who demonstrated tremendous courage and perseverance both on the battlefield and afterward, a hard worker and an honest and decent man, a man whom all Americans can look up to.

By now, most of us are aware of the wounds Lieutenant DOLE suffered on that April morning in 1945. That was about the same time that my brother was killed in the Second World War. BOB DOLE could have been killed too, and almost was.

We have also heard about his amazing and long recovery. But less is known about how BOB DOLE was injured. Richard Ben Cramer's book, "What it Takes," tells us how:

Dole got his men down to the low stone wall. Dole could have stayed in the middle [of the platoon]. But he knew his job, and he did it. He was out in front, with the lead squad.

They were pinned down quick. They were pinned down in the field, when a farmhouse on the left opened fire: a Jerry machine-gun nest . . . the men in the field were hamburger.

Dole had to get that machine gun. The lead squad was going to have to flank that house and get that nest of Krauts [sic]. Sergeant Carafa assumed he'd be going out with the squad, but Dole said, "Sergeant, I'll take 'em."

BOB DOLE saw many men die trying to knock out that machine gun. It was that morning, trying to take it out, that he was wounded. BOB DOLE could have let someone else go out with the squad. BOB DOLE could have stayed behind and provided cover. BOB DOLE could have stayed in the middle. Instead, BOB DOLE was out in front.

BOB DOLE has been out in front ever since. He became a skillful legislator. He knew how to get things done around here. But he also knew that duty required him to take action when it wasn't always in his own best interest or when he saw public policy going down the wrong path.

Take, for example, his leadership on addressing the crime issue. Throughout his career, BOB DOLE consistently supported legislation to fight crime and help the victims of crime. From the Organized Crime Control Act of 1969 to the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, BOB DOLE has

fought to bring accountability to the criminal justice system. But, in 1994, Senator DOLE stood up for what he thought was right and opposed the so-called Crime Control Act of 1994 because it was a pork-laden, big dollar, Great Society social spending boondoggle. Some of our colleagues thought we had lost our minds when we opposed a so-called crime bill in an election year. But BOB DOLE did it because it was the right thing to do.

He worked tirelessly for comprehensive habeas corpus reform. He worked to crack down on frivolous inmate lawsuits and was at the forefront of reform when, in 1984, he cosponsored the Sentencing Reform Act, which brought truth-in-sentencing to the Federal system.

Mr. President, Senator DOLE has been a leader and a fighter for civil rights from the beginning of his career. Senator DOLE knows full well that prejudice and artificial barriers can hold a person down. As a Member of the other body, he voted for landmark legislation including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. He was a leader in the effort to extend the Voting Rights Act in 1982. In 1967, then Congressman DOLE voted for the Age Discrimination in Employment Act. In 1990, Senator DOLE supported the expansion and clarification of this law to protect older workers from the loss of their employee benefits.

Senator DOLE led the passage of the Martin Luther King holiday bill. It was a bill I voted against, and I consider it the worst mistake I have made in my 20 years here. I thought that we should not add another holiday due to both the public and private sector costs involved. But, frankly, in hindsight, I made a mistake.

BOB DOLE, however, did what was right, and he brought that bill up and helped to pass it.

He played a key leadership role in enacting the landmark Americans With Disabilities Act. I worked hard on that bill, and I know what he did. I was in the late night meetings. As the ranking Republican on the Labor and Human Resources Committee, I was in the leadership meetings. I have to tell you, without BOB DOLE, that bill would not have passed. The ADA extended civil rights protections and opportunities to millions of Americans with disabilities. I can remember when it passed, he and I had tears in our eyes because it was such a monumental day.

Yes, BOB DOLE has been there for the big fights, let me tell you.

BOB DOLE recognizes that rights inhere in individuals, not groups. In 1995, he introduced the Equal Opportunity Act, which prohibits racial, ethnic, and gender preferences in Federal employment, Federal contracting, and federally administered programs. He sparked a healthy and timely national debate on affirmative action. In his view, every American should be treated with equal rights under the law, without preference based on race, ethnicity, or gender.